

able for residential purposes; to the committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. D'ALESSANDRO:

H. R. 5554. A bill to provide for the establishment of the General Sam Smith National Historical Park in Baltimore, Md.; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. HARRIS:

H. R. 5555. A bill to amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. SPENCE:

H. J. Res. 321. Joint resolution to authorize the making of settlement on account of certain currency destroyed at Fort Mills, P. I., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. BENNET of New York:

H. Con. Res. 129. Concurrent resolution to provide for a joint committee to investigate conditions in Palestine; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. PRICE of Illinois:

H. Res. 531. Resolution investigating the disruption of transportation on Toledo, Peoria & Western Railroad; to the Committee on Rules.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER. Memorial of the legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to increase the aid to dependent children program; to the Committee on Labor.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BUFFETT:

H. R. 5556. A bill for the relief of Jon Ovezia; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mr. LEONARD W. HALL:

H. R. 5557. A bill for the relief of Mike Sopko; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. SIKES:

H. R. 5558. A bill for the relief of Mrs. W. T. Scarborough; to the Committee on Claims.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1612. By Mr. CLASON: Petition of the General Court of Massachusetts, urging the Congress to immediately pass legislation to so amend the Federal aid to dependent children law as to permit the matching with Federal funds of all amounts expended by States, or their political subdivisions, on account of aid to dependent children; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1613. By Mr. DONDERO: Petition of the American Mothers of Detroit, Mich., expressing their opposition to a loan to Great Britain or similar loans that may be proposed to other nations but that attention be focused on the interests of this Republic (United States) and its citizens, including GI Joe; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

1614. By Mr. DONDERO: Petition of the American Mothers of Detroit, Mich., urging that steps be taken to place the wheels in motion to include in any program for permanent peace in which the United States shall participate a disarmament provision for all nations and that an office to be known as Secretary of Peace be included within the President's Cabinet; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1615. By Mr. GOODWIN: Memorial of the General Court of Massachusetts, to increase the aid to dependent children program; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1616. By Mr. GRAHAM: Petition of 90 Pennsylvania Railroad employees, in support of House bill 1737, the Railroad Pension Act; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1617. By Mr. SUNDSTROM: A concurrent resolution of the New Jersey State Legislature, memorializing the United States Senate and House of Representatives not to ratify any treaty or agreement with the Dominion of Canada or pass any legislation which may provide for the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1618. By Mr. WELCH: Memorial of California House, Resolution No. 86, relating to development of Alaska and amendment of Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, extending benefits to veterans for Alaska homesteads; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

1619. Also, memorial of California Assembly, Joint Resolution No. 8, relative to amendment and extension of the Federal Social Security Act in respect to public assistance; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

1620. Also, memorial of California Assembly, Joint Resolution No. 15, relative to migratory birds and the open season for the taking thereof; to the Committee on Agriculture.

## SENATE

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1946

(Legislative day of Friday, January 18, 1946)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, who in every hour of destiny dost use human talents to accomplish Thy tasks and human lips to blow the trumpets of Thy freedom, in reverent and grateful remembrance of him whose birth we this day celebrate, help us not simply to glorify his name but to emulate his virtues. Meeting in this Capitol, whose foundation stones his hands helped to lay, listening once more to his wise words as he left the public stage of action, may Thy servants who now before their fellows and the world represent the Nation upon whose struggling beginnings his name and sign is forever affixed, like him, achieve calmness in turmoil, courage in danger, hope in despair, patience in perplexity, faith in eternal verities, and a conscience higher than fame and the praise of man; then at the end may we, too, like one drawing the draperies of his couch about him, lie down to dreamless sleep in sure confidence of the larger life, leaving behind the white monument of a character unsullied and a record blameless without stain or shame. Through riches of grace in Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. HILL, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Thursday, February 21, 1946, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 63) to amend the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, so as to prohibit interference with the broadcasting of noncommercial cultural or educational programs, with amendments in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 3370) to provide assistance to the States in the establishment, maintenance, operation, and expansion of school-lunch programs, and for other purposes, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The message further announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

S. 323. An act for the relief of Thomas F. Gray;

S. 400. An act for the relief of Elisabeth Andersen;

S. 543. An act for the relief of Felix Fredrickson;

S. 683. An act for the relief of Mrs. Marie Nepple, as executrix of the estate of Earl W. Nepple, deceased, and Mrs. Marie Nepple, individually;

S. 865. An act for the relief of the estate of Agnes J. Allberry;

S. 1084. An act for the relief of John C. May and Eva Jenkins May;

S. 1126. An act for the relief of Alice A. Murphy;

S. 1131. An act for the relief of Jess Hudson;

S. 1400. An act for the relief of Robert R. Rowe, Jr.;

S. 1423. An act for the relief of Charles L. Phillips;

S. 1588. An act for the relief of Mrs. Lona Wilson; and

S. 1618. An act to exempt the Navy Department from statutory prohibitions against the employment of noncitizens, and for other purposes.

#### CALL OF THE ROLL

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Alken	Hatch	Murdock
Austin	Hawkes	O'Mahoney
Bailey	Hayden	Overton
Ball	Hickenlooper	Pepper
Bankhead	Hill	Radcliffe
Barkley	Hoey	Reed
Bilbo	Huffman	Revercomb
Brewster	Johnson, Colo.	Robertson
Bridges	Johnston, S. C.	Russell
Bushfield	Kilgore	Saltounstall
Butler	Knowland	Stanfill
Byrd	La Follette	Stewart
Capper	Lucas	Taft
Carville	McCarran	Thomas, Okla.
Chavez	McClellan	Thomas, Utah
Cordon	McFarland	Tunnell
Ellender	McKellar	Vandenberg
Ferguson	McMahon	Wheeler
Fulbright	Magnuson	Wherry
George	Mead	White
Gerry	Millikin	Wiley
Gossett	Mitchell	Willis
Gurney	Moore	Wilson
Hart	Morse	Young

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS], the Senator from Texas [Mr. O'DANIEL], and the Senator from New York [Mr. WAGNER] are absent because of illness.

The Senator from Florida [Mr. ANDREWS] is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. BRIGGS], the Senator from California [Mr. DOWNEY], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. EASTLAND], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. GREEN], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. GUFFEY], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. MAYBANK], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MYERS], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. WALSH] are detained on public business.

The Senator from Montana [Mr. MURRAY] and the Senator from Idaho [Mr. TAYLOR] are absent on official business.

The Senator from Texas [Mr. CONNALLY] is absent on official business as a representative of the United States to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator from Indiana [Mr. CAPEHART] is absent by leave of the Senate on official business of the Small Business Committee, of which he is a member.

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. BROOKS] is confined in a hospital recovering from a recent operation.

The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. TOBEY] is absent on official business.

The Senator from Missouri [Mr. DONNELL] is absent by leave of the Senate.

The Senator from Delaware [Mr. BUCK], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. LANGER], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. SHIPSTEAD], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Seventy-two Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

#### READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Pursuant to an order of the Senate of January 24, 1901, Washington's Farewell Address will now be read by the junior Senator from New Mexico [Mr. CHAVEZ] heretofore designated by the Chair to perform that duty.

Thereupon Mr. CHAVEZ advanced to the desk and read the Farewell Address, as follows:

#### To the people of the United States:

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a

strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and, every day, the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that

under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in time, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed; it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jeal-

ous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first drawing of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth, or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they addressed themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *north*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *south*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *east*, in a like intercourse with the *west*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength; or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external dan-

ger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalry alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bonds.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations,—*northern* and *southern*—*Atlantic* and *western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming

their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and maintaining within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power, and the right of the people to establish government, presuppose the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency.—They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not

only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system; and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions:—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country:—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion: and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind.—It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, it itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purpose of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit or party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false

alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasion of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes.—To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property,

for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes, that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it; can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human

nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justifications. It leads also to concessions, to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils!—Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me

fellow citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith:—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collusions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe; my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound, in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength, and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES,  
17th September, 1796.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS—  
COMMENTS BY SENATOR WILEY

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD brief comments by me on Washington's Farewell Address.

There being no objection, the comments were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The greatest tribute we can pay today to George Washington is to follow the spirit of his immortal counsel. Let us look at this counsel and see its meaning to the America of today.

1. Washington said, "In time of peace prepare for war." This is a hard but realistic policy for a peace-loving nation like America.

Particularly in this atomic age, with all its dangers of atom and rocket invasion, America

must be eternally vigilant for her security. We must have the most modern weapons. We must have a coordinated intelligence service, which will keep us informed of foreign military actions.

The reported Russian spying on atomic secrets, coupled with Stalin's verbal attack on capitalism, his plans to build up heavy Russian industry and armament should all put us on our guard to make our defenses second to none.

The world is not yet in a state where the "innocent lamb can lie down with the lion" (or with the bear).

America must be as "wise as a serpent" in her vigilance and her preparations, while as "harmless as a dove" in her peaceful intentions. Washington would not only take the Government out of the "red" but the "reds" out of government.

Right now America, during this time of peace, is not preparing for future emergencies. A few labor bosses can cripple entire cities—can blot out their light, cut their food supply, paralyze their transportation. We must get effective peace-making machinery for labor-management disputes into action now. We must provide for arbitration, and in the case of utilities and Nation-wide industries for compulsory arbitration as a last resort in order to prevent strikes. This would be preparing in time of peace for future emergencies.

2. Washington counseled us to beware of the "insidious wiles of foreign influence." He stated that "the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government."

Never was this truer than today when all the tricks and subterfuges of foreign-inspired propaganda are being used to beguile us from the American way to the alien way, the collectivist way. We must keep America American. We must preserve our system of checks and balances from those alien-inspired individuals who would destroy it with regimentation.

3. Washington warned against "interweaving our destiny with any part of Europe or entangling our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambitions, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice." He stated further in his Farewell Address, "Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world."

We have gone a long way from this doctrine. Before Pearl Harbor the American people, according to every public opinion poll, were 70 to 90 percent against intervention. Today by the same percentage, they want to give the United Nations Organization a fair chance to work out a just and lasting peace. We know we are a part of the world stage. We will do our part well.

But we ask, Will the other nations which for centuries have warred upon one another, have displayed greed and lust for power and spoils, which have evidenced their dislike for our republican form of government, will they play their part?

They are poker politicians; we must play poker politics, too. We must be realists, not weak sisters or Pollyannas or do-gooders, but stern realists, playing for the stakes of survival.

ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on February 21, 1946, he presented to the President of the United States the enrolled bill (S. 50) to permit settlement of accounts of deceased officers and enlisted men of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, and of deceased commissioned officers of the Public Health Service, without administration of estates.

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING—  
MEMORIAL

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I have received a memorial from the students of Buhler Rural High School, located at Buhler, Kans., expressing their opposition to compulsory military training in peacetime. I ask unanimous consent to present the memorial, and that it be appropriately referred and printed in the RECORD without the signatures attached.

There being no objection, the petition was received, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, without the signatures attached, as follows:

BUHLE RURAL HIGH SCHOOL,  
Buhler, Kans., February 18, 1946.

DEAR SENATOR CAPPER: We, the undersigned, are students of Buhler Rural High School, located at Buhler, Kans. We feel that compulsory military training during peacetime is against American tradition and Christian ideals. We believe that we should express our opinion in this letter because it might encourage you in your stand against compulsory military training during peacetime. We hope that at this time when we in America have the opportunity to lead the world toward peace we shall not fail to grasp that opportunity. Compulsory military training during peacetime would be a step in the opposite direction. We encourage you and hope that you continue to work and use your influence against the adoption of compulsory military training in peacetime in any form.

SCHOOL-LUNCH PROGRAM

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to present for appropriate reference and to have printed in the RECORD a letter I have received from Mrs. William A. Hastings, president of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, favoring the enactment of Senate bill 962, relating to a permanent school-lunch program. I am heartily in favor of this legislation.

There being no objection, the letter was received, ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF  
PARENTS AND TEACHERS,  
Chicago, Ill., February 19, 1946.

MY DEAR SENATOR: As you know, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers is actively supporting a permanent school-lunch program as embodied in Senate bill S. 962. We are working hard for the passage of this legislation, and we have repeatedly urged you to take favorable action on it.

We have learned that certain overzealous supporters of this same measure are asking the school children themselves to plead for this legislation by sending personal letters to you. The National Congress of Parents and Teachers deprecates this method of enlisting support. To exploit school children for any purpose, no matter how worthy, is wholly contrary to our policy.

Despite our earnest desire that Senate bill 962 be enacted into law, please know that the National Congress of Parents and Teachers did not request the school children to write to you. We trust you will support this legislation notwithstanding this child lobby for which we share your distaste. The health and nutritional needs of the children of America are of such importance that neither you nor we must be deterred in our efforts to establish a cooperative Federal-State school-lunch program.

Sincerely yours,

MINNETTA A. HASTINGS  
(Mrs. William A. Hastings),  
President.

## REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. WILSON, from the Committee on Claims:

S. 769. A bill for the relief of H. H. Ashbrook; with amendments (Rept. No. 988).

By Mr. RUSSELL, from the Committee on Immigration:

H. R. 388. A bill to amend section 201 (g) of the Nationality Act of 1940 (54 Stat. 1138-1139; 8 U. S. C. 601); with an amendment (Rept. No. 989).

## REPORTS ON DISPOSITION OF EXECUTIVE PAPERS

Mr. BARKLEY, from the Joint Select Committee on the Disposition of Executive Papers, to which were referred for examination and recommendation two lists of records transmitted to the Senate by the Archivist of the United States that appeared to have no permanent value or historical interest, submitted reports thereon pursuant to law.

## EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

As in executive session,

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. GEORGE:

From the Committee on Finance:

O. Max Gardner, of North Carolina, to be Under Secretary of the Treasury;

John O'Keefe, of Pembina, N. Dak., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 34, with headquarters at Pembina, N. Dak. (reappointment);

Alexander H. Bell, of Norfolk, Va., to be collector of customs for customs collection district No. 14, with headquarters at Norfolk, Va. (reappointment); and

Maj. Gen. Graves Blanchard Erskine, United States Marine Corps, to be Retraining and Reemployment Administrator.

From the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Monnett B. Davis, of Colorado, to be a foreign-service officer of class 1, a secretary in the diplomatic service, and a consul general; Walton C. Ferris, of Wisconsin, now a foreign-service officer of class 3 and a secretary in the diplomatic service, to be also a consul general;

Winthrop S. Greene, of Massachusetts, now a foreign-service officer of class 3 and a secretary in the diplomatic service, to be also a consul general;

Robert Grinnell, of New York, now a foreign-service officer of class 7 and a secretary in the diplomatic service, to be also a consul; and

Sundry persons to be foreign-service officers, unclassified, vice consuls of career, and secretaries in the diplomatic service of the United States of America.

By Mr. RADCLIFFE, from the Committee on Finance:

Elmer F. Kelm, of Chanhassen, Minn., to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Minnesota, in place of Arthur D. Reynolds.

By Mr. PEPPER, from the Committee on Patents:

Thomas F. Murphy, of Massachusetts, to be Assistant Commissioner of Patents vice Conder C. Henry, resigned.

## BILL INTRODUCED

Mr. MEAD introduced a bill (S. 1858) to fix the rate of postage on domestic air mail, and for other purposes, which was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads.

## HOUSE BILL PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The bill (H. R. 3370) to provide assistance to the States in the establishment,

maintenance, operation, and expansion of school-lunch programs, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title and ordered to be placed on the calendar.

## COSTA RICA: A RURAL DEMOCRACY—ARTICLE BY JOSEPH F. THORNING

[Mr. RADCLIFFE asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "Costa Rica: A Rural Democracy," by Dr. Joseph F. Thorning, of Maryland, printed in the Catholic Digest for January 1946, which appears in the Appendix.]

## A FILIBUSTER DEFEATED A CONGRESSIONAL MISTAKE—ARTICLE FROM THE FORT SMITH (ARK.) TIMES RECORD

[Mr. McCLELLAN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an article entitled "A Filibuster Defeated a Congressional Mistake," from the Fort Smith (Ark.) Times Record, which appears in the RECORD.]

## NOT SOUTHERN ISSUE ALONE—EDITORIAL FROM THE ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT

[Mr. McCLELLAN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Not Southern Issue Alone," from the Arkansas Democrat of February 5, 1946, which appears in the Appendix.]

## IT'S NOT THE STEEL COMPANIES THAT WILL PAY—ARTICLE FROM THE ARKANSAS GAZETTE

[Mr. McCLELLAN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "It's Not the Steel Companies That Will Pay" from the Arkansas Gazette of February 12, 1946, which appears in the Appendix.]

## PUBLIC WILL PAY THE BILL—EDITORIAL FROM THE ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT

[Mr. McCLELLAN asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "Public Will Pay the Bill" from the Arkansas Democrat of February 17, 1946, which appears in the Appendix.]

## AUTHORIZATION FOR SUBMISSION OF REPORTS, FOR RECEPTION OF MESSAGES, AND SIGNING OF BILLS, ETC.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, during the recess of the Senate, committees be authorized to make reports, either on proposed legislation or on nominations; that the Secretary of the Senate be authorized to receive messages from the House of Representatives; and that the President of the Senate be authorized to sign bills or resolutions ready for his signature.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

## RECESS TO TUESDAY

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon on Tuesday next.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 7 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until Tuesday, February 26, 1946, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1946

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

God of our fathers, whose hand may be seen in shaping the destiny of our

Nation, be near us that we may find Thee to be deeper than thought and stronger than argument. To some have come the victory of faith: the blind have seen, the lame have walked, and the poor have the gospel preached to them. O Christ of the market place, of the rich man's palace, and the poor man's hut, come to the altar of every soul with Thy blessing and Thy guidance.

Heavenly Father, the past is with us; every liberty-loving heart goes out today in praise and gratitude for him who left us a rich legacy of Christian verities in the quest for free government. By his chivalry of soul and undaunted spirit he reclaimed human rights, restored organized society, and became the morning star of the New World. Time has passed but it has not dimmed his character nor lessened our reverence for his memory. It remains, therefore, for us to guard, strengthen, and enrich the institutions to which he dedicated himself and his earthly store. O may his spirit bend over us in holy benediction as we pray in the name of the world's Redeemer. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment bills of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 129. An act to provide for the barring of certain claims by the United States in connection with Government checks and warrants;

H. R. 854. An act for the relief of Isabel Carlson;

H. R. 1315. An act for the relief of B. Pendino;

H. R. 1464. An act for the relief of Leonard Hutchings;

H. R. 1489. An act for the relief of Harold B. Alden and Walter E. Strohm;

H. R. 1848. An act for the relief of Max Hirsch;

H. R. 2169. An act for the relief of Charles Zucker;

H. R. 2171. An act for the relief of Solomon Schtierman;

H. R. 2240. An act to credit certain service performed by members of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Public Health Service prior to reaching 18 years of age for the purpose of computing longevity pay, and for other purposes;

H. R. 2970. An act for the relief of Harry C. Westover;

H. R. 2284. An act to eliminate the practice by subcontractors, under cost-plus-a-fixed-fee or cost reimbursable contracts of the United States, of paying fees or kickbacks, or of granting gift or gratuities to employees of a cost-plus-a-fixed-fee or cost reimbursable prime contractors or of higher tier subcontractors for the purpose of securing the award of subcontracts or orders;

H. R. 2289. An act for the relief of Arnold Mecham;

H. R. 2393. An act for the relief of Elsie Peter;

H. R. 2452. An act for the relief of Sam Kalak;

H. R. 2661. An act for the relief of W. D. Jones and Ethel S. Jones;

H. R. 2724. An act for the relief of the legal guardian of Forest Eldon Powell;

H. R. 2728. An act for the relief of R. H. Sindie;

H. H. 2769. An act for the relief of C. Frank James;

H. R. 2963. An act for the relief of William Phillips;

H. R. 2974. An act for the relief of the estate of Bobby Messick;

H. R. 3028. An act to amend the act of August 17, 1937, as amended, relating to the establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore Recreational Area in the State of North Carolina;

H. R. 3046. An act for the relief of Thomas A. Butler;

H. R. 3444. An act to grant the title of public lands to the town of Safford, Ariz., for the use of its municipal water system;

H. R. 3514. An act for the relief of the legal guardian of Olga Stanik, a minor;

H. R. 3580. An act to authorize municipalities and public-utility districts in the Territory of Alaska to issue revenue bonds for public-works purposes;

H. R. 3614. An act to ratify and confirm Act 33 of the Session Laws of Hawaii, 1945, extending the time within which revenue bonds may be issued and delivered under chapter 118, Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1945;

H. R. 3657. An act for the relief of Herman Trahn;

H. R. 3730. An act granting the consent of Congress to the State of West Virginia to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Monongahela River at or near Star City, W. Va.;

H. R. 3784. An act for the relief of C. H. Brumfield;

H. R. 3940. An act to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act granting the consent of Congress to Rensselaer and Saratoga Counties, N. Y., or to either of them, or any agency representing said counties, to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Hudson River between the city of Mechanicville and Hemstreet Park in the town of Schaghticoke, N. Y.," approved April 2, 1941;

H. R. 4249. An act for the relief of Lucy Delgado and Irma M. Delgado; and

H. R. 4932. An act to amend section 9 of the Boulder Canyon Project Act, approved December 21, 1928.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, bills of the House of the following titles:

H. R. 1613. An act for the relief of Christopher Dance;

H. R. 1615. An act for the relief of the legal guardians of John Buchan and Lawrence Gillingham, minors;

H. R. 1854. An act for the relief of Thomas Sumner;

H. R. 2493. An act for the relief of the estate of Michael J. McDonough, deceased;

H. R. 2670. An act for the relief of the legal guardian of Kathleen Lawton McGuire;

H. R. 3791. An act for the relief of Mrs. Florence Mersman;

H. R. 3808. An act for the relief of the estate of William N. Theriault and Millicent Theriault;

H. R. 4571. An act to amend the First War Powers Act, 1941; and

H. R. 4652. An act to provide credit for past service to substitute employees of the postal service when appointed to regular positions; to extend annual and sick leave benefits to war service indefinite substitute employees; to fix the rate of compensation for temporary substitute rural carriers serving in the place of regular carriers in the armed forces; and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 220. An act to vest title to the U. S. S. *Wolverine* (ex-Michigan) in the foundation for the Original U. S. S. Michigan, Inc.;

S. 286. An act for the relief of James F. Desmond;

S. 396. An act providing for the transfer of a certain fish hatchery in Comanche County, Okla., to the city of Lawton, Okla.;

S. 913. An act to protect scenic values along and tributary to the Catalina Highway within the Coronado National Forest, Ariz.;

S. 983. An act for the relief of A. F. Crawford;

S. 1109. An act to restore to the Territory of Hawaii certain lands designated under section 203, title II, as available within the meaning of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, as amended;

S. 1162. An act to convey certain lands to the State of Wyoming;

S. 1163. An act to provide for the appointment of two additional district judges for the northern district of California;

S. 1184. An act for the relief of A. L. Clem and Ida M. Bryant;

S. 1185. An act to change the designation of Custer Battlefield National Cemetery, in the State of Montana, to "Custer Battlefield National Monument," and for other purposes;

S. 1190. An act for the relief of Mrs. Henry H. Hay;

S. 1226. An act to readjust the exterior boundaries of the Kalbar National Forest, the Grand Canyon National Game Preserve, and Arizona Grazing District No. 1, State of Arizona, and for other purposes;

S. 1273. An act to provide for the acquisition by exchange of non-Federal property within the Glacier National Park;

S. 1310. An act for the relief of Saunders Wholesale, Inc.;

S. 1319. An act for the relief of Mrs. Alice Condon;

S. 1336. An act to transfer certain real and personal property in Ward County, N. Dak., to the State of North Dakota acting by and through the Industrial Commission of North Dakota;

S. 1367. An act to provide for the appointment of three additional Assistant Secretaries of Commerce, and for other purposes;

S. 1411. An act for the relief of Alfred Osterhoff, doing business as Illini Reefer Transit, Champaign, Ill.;

S. 1460. An act to fix the salary of the Solicitor of the Department of the Interior;

S. 1535. An act to authorize the Secretary of War to convey certain lands situated within the Fort Douglas Military Reservation to the Shriners' Hospitals for Crippled Children;

S. 1601. An act to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act granting the consent of Congress to the counties of Valley and McCone, Mont., to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Missouri River at or near Frazer, Mont.," approved August 5, 1939;

S. 1622. An act for the relief of Gordon Cole Hart;

S. 1637. An act for the relief of Herbert C. Rockwell;

S. 1638. An act for the relief of Salvatore Carbone;

S. 1657. An act to amend Public Law 779 of the Seventy-seventh Congress, entitled "An act to provide for furnishing transportation for certain Government and other personnel necessary for the effective prosecution of the war, and for other purposes," approved December 1, 1942, and for other purposes;

S. 1660. An act to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act creating the city of Clinton Bridge Commission and authorizing said commission and its successors to acquire by purchase or condemnation and to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River at or near Clinton, Iowa, and at or near Fulton, Ill.," approved December 21, 1944;

S. 1710. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to grant and convey to the Virginia Electric & Power Co. a perpetual

easement in two strips of land comprising portions of the Norfolk Navy Yard, Portsmouth, Va., and for other purposes;

S. 1738. An act to establish a Chief of Chaplains in the United States Navy;

S. 1739. An act to reimburse certain Navy personnel and former Navy personnel for personal property lost or damaged as the result of fires which occurred at various Navy shore activities;

S. 1776. An act to authorize the exchange of certain land at the Benicia Arsenal, Calif.; and

S. 1811. An act to amend Public Law 277, Seventy-ninth Congress, so as to provide the Coast Guard, at such time as it is transferred back to the Treasury Department, with a system of laws for the settlement of claims, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the President pro tempore has appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the joint select committee on the part of the Senate, as provided for in the act of August 5, 1939, entitled "An act to provide for the disposition of certain records of the United States Government," for the disposition of executive papers in the following departments and agencies:

1. Department of Commerce.
2. Department of Justice.
3. Department of the Navy.
4. National Archives (General Schedule No. 1).
5. National Archives (General Schedule No. 2).
6. Selective Service System.
7. United States Maritime Commission.
8. National Archives.

#### WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to special order agreed to on February 15, 1946, the Chair designates the gentleman from California [Mr. ENGLE] to read Washington's Farewell Address.

#### CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, this is one of the most important documents in the history of America, and I think the Members ought to be here to hear it. I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 31]

Adams	Byrne, N. Y.	De Lacy
Allen, Ill.	Canfield	Delaney,
Arends	Cannon, Fla.	James J.
Bailey	Carnahan	Delaney,
Baldwin, Md.	Case, N. J.	John J.
Baldwin, N. Y.	Celler	Dingell
Barrett, Pa.	Chapman	Dolliver
Barry	Chenoweth	Douglas, Calif.
Bates, Ky.	Chiferfield	Douglas, Ill.
Beall	Clements	Eaton
Bell	Clippenger	Elsasser
Bennet, N. Y.	Cole, Kans.	Ervin
Bloom	Cole, N. Y.	Fallon
Bolton	Colmer	Fisher
Bonner	Cooley	Flood
Boren	Courtney	Fogarty
Boykin	Cravens	Fuller
Bradley, Pa.	Crawford	Fulton
Brumbaugh	Curley	Gardner
Buckley	Curtis	Gary
Burch	Daughton, Va.	Gathings
Burgin	Dawson	Gerlach

Graham	LeFevre	Rogers, N. Y.
Granahan	Luce	Sasser
Granger	Ludlow	Schwabe, Okla.
Green	Lynch	Shaffer
Griffiths	McConnell	Sheridan
Gross	McGlinchey	Short
Gwinn, N. Y.	McGregor	Simpson, Pa.
Hall	McMillen, Ill.	Slaughter
Leonard W.	Marcantonio	Smith, Ohio
Hancock	May	Sumner, Ill.
Harless, Ariz.	Morrow	Summers, Tex.
Hartley	Mundt	Sundstrom
Hays	Murray, Tenn.	Taber
Hefernan	Norton	Taylor
Hendricks	Pace	Thom
Heseltun	Patterson	Thomas, N. J.
Hess	Peterson, Fla.	Thomas, Tex.
Hollifield	Peterson, Ga.	Tolan
Hook	Pfeifer	Torrens
Huber	Philbin	Towe
Jarman	Powell	Wadsworth
Jennings	Price, Ill.	Walter
Kean	Quinn, N. Y.	Wasielewski
Kee	Rabin	Weaver
Keefe	Rains	Welch
Kefauver	Randolph	West
Keogh	Rayfiel	Wigglesworth
Kerr	Reed, Ill.	Winter
King	Reed, N. Y.	Wolcott
Kirwan	Robertson, Va.	Wolfenden, Pa.
Kunkel	Robinson, Utah	Wood
Landis	Robison, Ky.	Woodhouse
Lane	Roe, N. Y.	Zimmerman
Latham	Rogers, Mass.	

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 262 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

#### WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California [Mr. ENGLE] is recognized to read Washington's Farewell Address.

Mr. ENGLE of California read the Farewell Address, as follows:

#### To the people of the United States:

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly

drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and, every day, the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism,—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness

of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed; it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth, or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you

possess, are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they addressed themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *north*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *south*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *east*, in a like intercourse with the *west*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength; or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalry alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations,—*northern* and *southern*—*Atlantic* and *western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This govern-

ment, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and maintaining within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power, and the right of the people to establish government, presuppose the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency.—They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system; and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions:—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country:—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion: and remember, especially, that

for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind.—It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purpose of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit or party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit

for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasion of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes.—To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general

diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes, that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it; can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate

envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justifications. It leads also to concessions, to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils!—Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me fellow citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending

our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith:—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collusions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independ-

ence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe; my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound, in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength, and consistency which is necessary to give it,

humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES,  
17th September, 1796.

#### ADJOURNMENT OVER

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourns to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. BIEMILLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. BIEMILLER. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday I was unavoidably absent on the vote on the so-called Powell amendment. Had I been here, I would have voted for it.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. FLANNAGAN asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. BLOOM asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD in two instances, in one to include an editorial and in the other an article by Gould Lincoln.

Mr. TRAYNOR asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and to include therein a resolution by the United Poultry Society of Wilmington, Del.

#### PUERTO RICO

Mr. PIÑERO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico?

There was no objection.

Mr. PINERO. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, on the eve of George Washington's anniversary, the delegates from 15 Caribbean territories and the representatives of the four metropolitan Governments—Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States of America—met in St. Thomas, V. I., of the United States of America, in the Second West Indian Conference.

I would like at this point to insert a letter from the President of the United States addressed to the Honorable Charles W. Taussig, chairman of the United States section of the Caribbean Commission which was read by Mr. Taussig at the opening session of that important conference.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, February 7, 1946.  
Mr. CHARLES W. TAUSSIG,  
Chairman, United States Section,  
Caribbean Commission,  
Department of State,  
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR Mr. TAUSSIG: As you know, I have been deeply interested in the work of the Caribbean Commission, formerly the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission. As a consequence of that interest, I am naturally most happy that the United States of America is to be the host Nation at the second session of the West Indian Conference. I take this occasion to ask that you, in your capacity as chairman, convey to the conference not only my warm greetings but my sincere best wishes for a most successful session. I further ask that you bring the following message to the conference:

"The policy of the United States, with respect to the governments and peoples of the non-self-governing territories of the Caribbean region, will be guided by the following basic tenets:

"1. To encourage the effective application, by all practicable means, of the fundamental principles set forth in chapter XI of the Charter of the United Nations, entitled 'Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories,' to the end that the progressive development of the peoples of the region in political, economic, educational, and social matters shall be insured. This Government takes the view that members of the United Nations which have responsibilities for the administration of non-self-governing territories in this region have undertaken a solemn obligation in this respect, and notes with particular satisfaction that in all such territories the interests of the inhabitants are to be regarded as paramount.

"2. To support the work of the Caribbean Commission to the end that problems of the region may be approached as a whole, and not piecemeal. Such support will strengthen this multilateral governmental organization, which offers procedures for constructively attacking regional problems. The Caribbean Commission, formerly known as the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, has been recently expanded to include the Governments of France and the Netherlands. The Government of the United States looks with satisfaction on this expansion. It anticipates increasing participation in the work of that Commission by the peoples of the territories of the four countries concerned.

"This Government looks forward to an increasing measure of self-government by the people of the Virgin Islands of the United States. With respect to Puerto Rico, it has

been recommended to the Congress of the United States that it provide a means by which the people of Puerto Rico might choose their form of government and ultimate status with respect to the United States.

"3. To assist, by appropriate action, in carrying out the economic objectives recommended by the first session of the West Indian Conference held at Barbados in March 1944. Steps to effectuate these objectives received Presidential approval on June 11, 1945, and were included in a joint statement of the Governments of the United States and of the United Kingdom later made public.

"4. To support any suitable plan which would bring the non-self-governing territories of the Caribbean region into closer cooperation with each other, with a view to developing the educational, social, and cultural institutions of the region, improving the standards of living of the people, and strengthening the foundations upon which self-governing institutions may be developed."

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. PINERO asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include an address delivered by Hon. Charles W. Taussig, chairman, United States section of the Caribbean Commission at the opening of the Second West Indian Conference at St. Thomas, V. I., United States of America.

Mr. CHURCH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and to include therein an editorial from the Chicago Tribune of February 21, entitled "End the Cab Monopoly," and also to include therein an editorial in the Washington Post of yesterday entitled "Lobby on Wheels."

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. KEEFE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may be granted leave of absence for 10 days on account of official business.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BLACKNEY asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD and include therein certain quotations.

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an article from the Washington Post.

Mr. REECE of Tennessee asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address by Governor Green, of Illinois.

Mr. HULL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include therein a statement by former Governor Philip F. La Follette, of Wisconsin.

Mr. WOLVERTON of New Jersey asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include therein a speech he delivered on Sunday last at a regional Parent-Teachers Association on the subject Brotherhood at Home and Abroad.

Mr. FELLOWS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a speech delivered

by President Phillips, of Bates College, Maine.

Mr. LAFOLLETTE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and to include a Lincoln Day address which he made at Evansville, Ind., on February 12.

Mr. MICHENER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address recently delivered by the news commentator, Bill Costello, over a national hook-up of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may insert in the RECORD my remarks which I made before the Committee on Foreign Affairs on the St. Lawrence waterway project and also the remarks of the mayor of Chicago, Hon. Edward J. Kelly, and further, that I may extend my remarks and include therein an editorial from the Chicago Sun and another article from the Chicago Times.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 20 minutes p. m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, February 25, 1946, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar as follows:

Mr. PATRICK: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. R. 5275. A bill to revive and reenact the act granting the consent of Congress to the State Highway Department of South Carolina to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Pee Dee River, at or near Cashua Ferry, S. C., approved April 30, 1940; without amendment (Rept. No. 1611). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. HOLMES of Massachusetts: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. R. 4940. A bill granting the consent of Congress to the State of Connecticut, acting by and through any agency or commission thereof, to construct, maintain, and operate a toll bridge across the Connecticut River at or near Old Saybrook, Conn.; without amendment (Rept. No. 1612). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. KELLY of Illinois: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. R. 4914. A bill to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act creating the City of Clinton Bridge Commission and authorizing said commission and its successors to acquire by purchase or condemnation and to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River at or near Clinton, Iowa, and at or near Fulton, Ill.," approved December 21, 1944; without amendment (Rept. No. 1613). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. WINTER: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. S. 1425. An act to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act to authorize the county of Burt, State of Nebraska, to construct, maintain, and operate a toll bridge across the Missouri River at or near Decatur, Nebr.," approved June 8, 1940; with-

out amendment (Rept. No. 1614). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. MURPHY: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. R. 4190. A bill granting the consent of Congress to the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. to construct, maintain, and operate a railroad bridge across the Allegheny River at or near Warren, Pa.; without amendment (Rept. No. 1615). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. HARRIS: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. R. 4239. A bill granting to Guy A. Thompson, trustee, Missouri Pacific Railroad Co., debtor, and to his successors and assigns, authority to relocate, maintain, and operate a single-track railway across United States Government reservation at lock No. 3, White River, Independence County, Ark., and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1616). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. LEA: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. R. 3565. A bill to authorize the charging of tolls for the passage or transit of Government traffic over the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge; with amendments (Rept. No. 1617). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. HARRIS: Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. H. R. 3704. A bill to amend section 1 of the Federal Power Act, with respect to the terms of office of members of the Federal Power Commission; without amendment (Rept. No. 1618). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. COMBS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5239. A bill to amend Public Law 277, Seventy-ninth Congress, so as to provide the Coast Guard, at such time as it is transferred back to the Treasury Department, with a system of laws for the settlement of claims, and for other purposes; without amendment (Rept. No. 1619). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. PETERSON of Georgia: Committee on the Territories submits a report pursuant to House Resolution 236, resolution authorizing and directing the Committee on the Territories to conduct a study and investigation of the various questions and problems relating to the Territory of Hawaii; without amendment (Rept. No. 1620). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. COLE of Kansas: Committee on Claims. H. R. 216. A bill for the relief of John Seferian and Laura Seferian; with amendments (Rept. No. 1598). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DOYLE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1235. A bill for the relief of John Bell; with amendments (Rept. No. 1599). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. COLE of Kansas: Committee on Claims. H. R. 1759. A bill for the relief of Mildred Neiffer; with amendments (Rept. No. 1600). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. DOYLE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 2904. A bill for the relief of Clyde Rownd, Della Rownd, and Benjamin C. Day; with amendment (Rept. No. 1601). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HOOK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3483. A bill for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. Cipriano Vasquez; with amendment (Rept. No. 1602). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. FERNANDEZ: Committee on Claims. H. R. 3948. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Clif-

ford W. Prevatt; with amendment (Rept. No. 1603). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HOOK: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4115. A bill for the relief of the estate of Eleanor Doris Barrett; with amendment (Rept. No. 1604). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. STIGLER: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4174. A bill for the relief of Mayer G. Hansen; without amendment (Rept. No. 1605). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. COMBS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4401. A bill for the relief of Joe F. Rada and Bessie Rada; without amendment (Rept. No. 1606). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. COMBS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4418. A bill for the relief of the city of San Diego, Tex.; with amendment (Rept. No. 1607). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. COMBS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4647. A bill for the relief of Albert R. Perkins; with amendment (Rept. No. 1608). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. COMBS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4693. A bill for the relief of Richard C. Ward; with amendments (Rept. No. 1609). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. McGEHEE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4712. A bill for the relief of Caroline M. Newmark and Melville Moritz; without amendment (Rept. No. 1610). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan:  
H. R. 5559. A bill providing a pension for personnel of the armed forces taken prisoner by the enemy in the Philippines and other places, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. MCKENZIE:  
H. R. 5560. A bill to fix the rate of postage on domestic air mail, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. MADDEN:  
H. R. 5561. A bill relating to the exclusion from gross income for income-tax purposes of any income attributable to the receipt by an employee of an option of a noncompensatory nature from a corporate employer, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PICKETT (by request):  
H. R. 5562. A bill to amend section 10, Public Law 144, Seventy-eighth Congress, approved July 13, 1943, to provide equivalent benefits for service in World Wars I and II; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to a bill pending in the Congress providing for the relief of owners of gold mines affected by Federal regulation; to the Committee on War Claims.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GILLIE:  
H. R. 5563. A bill granting a pension to Wilfred M. Gray; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. MONRONEY:

H. R. 5564. A bill for the relief of W. S. Burleson; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. REECE of Tennessee:

H. R. 5565. A bill for the relief of Martha Smith Brown; to the Committee on War Claims.

H. R. 5566. A bill granting a pension to Verna Barnes; to the Committee on Pensions.

By Mr. RICH:

H. R. 5567. A bill for the relief of Antoine (Tony) Accristo; to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

By Mrs. SMITH of Maine:

H. R. 5568. A bill for the relief of Andrew Paulin; to the Committee on Claims.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1621. By Mr. CASE of South Dakota: Petition of Mrs. Walter Kennedy and 34 other signers of Beresford, S. Dak., protesting the increasing use of alcoholic liquors and requesting that legislation be enacted to curb advertising, transportation, and sale in alcoholic beverages; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1622. Also, petition of Mrs. F. Wilbur Drown and 32 other signers of Redfield, S. Dak., requesting favorable action of the Congress on House bill 752 which proposes to prohibit the sale of alcoholic liquors on military or naval reservations or within a reasonable distance therefrom; also prohibits prostitution or the keeping of bawdy houses within a reasonable distance from such reservations; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1946

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Spirit divine, search us and know our hearts; try us and know our thoughts and see if there be any wicked way in us, and lead us in the way everlasting. O Lord God of Elijah, send us forth as champions of a new day that shall bring rest and peace throughout the borders of our country until all discontent be overthrown and the star of unity shine over us once again.

O loving Father, Thou dost move in mysterious ways Thy wonders to perform. A distinguished Member has left the scenes of this Chamber, a dear friend and neighbor. In channels of education and legislation he served his country well, always with devotion and honor. Blessed Lord of consolations, grant that triumphant faith and hope may sustain those who mourn. Amid falling shadows, let their loneliness and sorrow be assuaged. Be Thou their rod and staff, and give them great peace.

"He leads us in no darker room  
Than He Himself went through,  
And in our path there is no stone  
He would not carry, too."

Well done, thou good and faithful servant; enter thou into the joys of thy Lord. In the name of our Redeemer. Amen.

XCII—101

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday, February 22, 1946, was read and approved.

#### SWEARING IN OF MEMBER

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication, which was read by the Clerk:

FEBRUARY 25, 1946.

The Honorable the SPEAKER,

House of Representatives.

SIR: From the secretary of state of the State of Georgia, I have received the certificate of election of Hon. HELEN DOUGLAS MANKIN as a Representative to the Seventy-ninth Congress from the Fifth Congressional District to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Hon. Robert Ramspeck.

Very truly yours,

SOUTH TRIMBLE,

Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Mrs. HELEN DOUGLAS MANKIN appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

#### SENATE BILLS REFERRED

Bills of the Senate of the following titles were taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 220. An act to vest title to the U. S. S. *Wolverine* (ex-Michigan) in the Foundation for the Original United States Ship Michigan, Inc.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 286. An act for the relief of James F. Desmond; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 913. An act to protect scenic values along and tributary to the Catalina Highway within the Coronado National Forest, Ariz.; to the Committee on Agriculture.

S. 983. An act for the relief of A. F. Crawford; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1109. An act to restore to the Territory of Hawaii certain lands designated under section 203, title II, as available within the meaning of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, as amended; to the Committee on the Territories.

S. 1162. An act to convey certain lands to the State of Wyoming; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

S. 1163. An act to provide for the appointment of two additional district judges for the northern district of California; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

S. 1184. An act for the relief of A. L. Clem and Ida M. Bryant; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1185. An act to change the designation of Custer Battlefield National Cemetery, in the State of Montana, to "Custer Battlefield National Monument," and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

S. 1190. An act for the relief of Mrs. Henry H. Hay; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1226. An act to readjust the exterior boundaries of the Kaibab National Forest, the Grand Canyon National Game Preserve, and Arizona grazing district No. 1, State of Arizona, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

S. 1273. An act to provide for the acquisition by exchange of non-Federal property within the Glacier National Park; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

S. 1310. An act for the relief of Saunders Wholesale, Inc.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1319. An act for the relief of Mrs. Alice Condon; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1336. An act to transfer certain real and personal property in Ward County, N. Dak., to the State of North Dakota, acting by and through the Industrial Commission of North Dakota; to the Committee on Agriculture.

S. 1367. An act to provide for the appointment of three additional Assistant Secretaries of Commerce, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. 1411. An act for the relief of Alfred Osterhoff, doing business as Illini Reefer Transit, Champaign, Ill.; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1460. An act to fix the salary of the Solicitor of the Department of the Interior; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

S. 1535. An act to authorize the Secretary of War to convey certain lands situated within the Fort Douglas Military Reservation to the Shriners' Hospitals for Crippled Children; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1601. An act to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act granting the consent of Congress to the counties of Valley and McCone, Mont., to construct, maintain, and operate a free highway bridge across the Missouri River at or near Frazer, Mont.," approved August 5, 1939; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

S. 1622. An act for the relief of Gordon Cole Hart; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1637. An act for the relief of Herbert C. Rockwell; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1638. An act for the relief of Salvatore Carbone; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1657. An act to amend Public Law 779 of the Seventy-seventh Congress entitled "An act to provide for furnishing transportation for certain Government and other personnel necessary for the effective prosecution of the war, and for other purposes," approved December 1, 1942, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1710. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to grant and convey to the Virginia Electric & Power Co. a perpetual easement in two strips of land comprising portions of the Norfolk Navy Yard, Portsmouth, Va., and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 1738. An act to establish a Chief of Chaplains in the United States Navy; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

S. 1739. An act to reimburse certain Navy personnel and former Navy personnel for personal property lost or damaged as the result of fires which occurred at various Navy shore activities; to the Committee on Claims.

S. 1776. An act to authorize the exchange of certain land at the Benicia Arsenal, Calif.; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

S. 1811. An act to amend Public Law 277, Seventy-ninth Congress, so as to provide the Coast Guard, at such time as it is transferred back to the Treasury Department, with a system of laws for the settlement of claims, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Claims.

#### THE LATE J. BUELL SNYDER

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. EBERHARTER].

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise this morning with a very heavy heart to announce with sincere regret the death on yesterday of our colleague, the Honorable J. BUELL SNYDER, of the Twenty-third District of Pennsylvania.

Mr. SNYDER was serving his fourteenth year in this body. He became well known not only in this body, this Chamber, and the other Chamber, and in Washington, but all over the United States, and I may say indeed, all over the world, by his steadfast devotion to duty and by the important position which he had attained as chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations handling all funds for the Military Establishment. He had under his care and jurisdiction the giving to the other Members of the House the benefit of his advice in the expenditures of the greatest sums of money in all recorded history in a comparable time.